

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

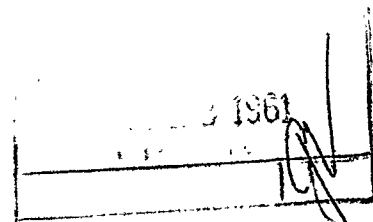
July 1960 - December 1960



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1960--December 1960**

**January 1961**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The focal point in international relations from the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, is the long-range policy of peaceful coexistence which has been made possible by the alleged shift of the balance of power from the free-world nations to the socialist states. Such a policy can be implemented through "strong peace organizations," "unceasing struggle," and increased pressure by the American people on the new Administration for an end to the cold war.

While demanding that the United States cease its interference in Cuban affairs and return the naval base at Guantanamo to Cuba, the Communist Party, USA, unequivocally pledges that it will fulfill its obligations of "international solidarity with the Cuban revolution."

The Party calls for Communist China to be admitted to the United Nations and recognized by the United States. It denounces the "aggressive" American-Japanese mutual security treaty, which provides for American military bases in Japan, and asks for the adoption of a "genuine peace treaty."

The free Republic of the Congo has the firm backing of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which will not tolerate



continued aggression there by Belgian or American monopolists. Africa's future as a continent of free nations is directly related to the destiny of the Congo.

West Germany, with its characteristics of militarism, antisocialism, and repression of the national liberation movement, is emerging as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs.

On the domestic front, the emphasis was on the national elections. The Communist Party, USA, presented its own election platform, which urged the American people to struggle for world peace, full rights for the Negro people, protection against the effects of automation, enforcement of the Bill of Rights, and the formation of a "broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement." The Party referred to the 15th Assembly of the United Nations as a "historic event" which made distinct contributions to the fight for peace, colonial liberation, and socialism under the "great initiative" of the Soviet Union and its leader, Nikita Khrushchev.

One of the outstanding public demonstrations of Party discipline in recent years occurred when long-time Party leader Alexander Bittelman was expelled in November, 1960, on charges of having violated the communist principle of "democratic centralism" by publishing a book containing "anti-Party" views.

According to the Party, if the labor movement is to make real headway, it must unite with its natural allies--the small farmers, the Negro people, small business--to curb the powerful monopolies and to win basic reforms for the American people. The Party considers the present trade-union leadership reactionary and favorable to the "cold-war imperialist policies."

Automation, which allegedly has emerged as a "blessing" under socialism, is leading to growing unemployment under the capitalist system of government in the United States. According to the Communist Party, USA, this trend can be partially offset by the 30-hour week without reduction in pay. Employment prospects would also be enhanced by disarmament and a peaceful economy, which would be the basis for tax reductions, expanded outlays for social welfare, and other measures.

The communist farm program opposes driving farmers from the land, supports organization of all agricultural workers and a food stamp plan, wants enough Federal aid to assure every farmer a decent standard of living, and favors extension of credit by the United States through the United Nations for the purchase of our surplus farm production.

Today, there is a world upsurge of "colonial and semi-colonial" people, particularly in Cuba, the Congo, Algeria, and South Africa. This

indicates that the struggle to end colonialism has reached a new level and should be supported not only within communist circles but on a united-front basis. The first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples signifies that the Soviet Union will expand its diplomatic activity on behalf of the "national liberation" struggles of colonial people and still-dependent, underdeveloped states.

The Party asserts that strong, effective civil rights legislation should be passed which will guarantee full democracy to all Americans, Negro and white. It calls for the repeal of all restrictive laws and anticommunist statutes which prevented the Communist Party, USA, from entering the elections under its own banner, repeats its charges that the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act and the Taft-Hartley Act restrict labor's organizing and bargaining power, and denounces the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as unpatriotic groups which should be abolished.

According to the communists, the Soviet Union has striven persistently for total disarmament, and the United States has been the chief stumbling block against its realization. Immediate priority should be given to ending nuclear tests, banning nuclear weapons, and destroying nuclear stockpiles. In addition, the United States Government should ground spy planes and dismantle its military bases abroad.

The Party claims that a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination can smash the "jim-crow" system in America. The election provided the communists with an excellent opportunity to deride the United States Government for allegedly not supporting the rights of minority groups to register and vote. The Party also chides Negro leaders for indulging in anticommunist attacks which, it claims, weaken the fight for Negro rights. Communists call for the broadest united action to attain fully desegregated schools throughout the entire country, especially in the South. In addition, they claim that the placement plans permit only token integration and should be abolished. According to the communists, the New York School for Marxist Studies has demonstrated that there is a wide interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

There is no artistic freedom in the United States, communists assert. Such an idea is considered impractical by Big Business interests, because art here is produced primarily for profit. Socialism, on the other hand, produces great artists, scientists, educators, and physicians. Women, too, have made tremendous progress under socialism and have been freed from the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism.

The communist youth program proposes the adoption of a Federal Youth Act which would provide free education, the guarantee of a job after

education is completed, an end to military conscription, and a federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational, and cultural program for youth. The Party emphasizes that all "progressive adults and youth" must do everything possible to increase the ranks of communist and organized "progressive" youth. It also stresses the need for a labor-youth alliance as an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."

#### B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, maintains that the balance of power has shifted from the forces of imperialism to the world socialist movement thus making possible the long-range policy of peaceful coexistence. Accordingly, it may be expected that the Party will intensify its propaganda for world peace, disarmament, and an end to the cold war, while reiterating its demands for admission of Communist China to the United Nations, abrogation of the American-Japanese mutual security treaty, cessation of United States interference in the Congo and Cuba, and the return of the naval base at Guantanamo to Cuba.
2. Communists claim that Senator John F. Kennedy was elected President of the United States by the increased vote for the Democratic ticket by labor, the Negro people, and other minority groups; therefore, he is committed to honor their mandate to carry out a program which the Party feels will benefit the interests of these groups. It is apparent that the Communist Party, USA, while ostensibly making every effort to promote a public image of a legitimate political party sincerely interested in peace, civil rights; et cetera, will continue to exploit these issues, not for their own sake, but as a tactical means of advancing the Party's actual goal--the establishment of a communist United States.
3. The Party asserts that labor must unite with the small farmers, the Negro people, and small business against the powerful American trusts in order to make real progress in the fight for jobs and basic reforms. Further propaganda in the Party press on this basic point

of communist policy in the United States may be anticipated, as well as the usual barrage against the "reactionary trade-union bureaucracy" and the misuse of automation.

4. The Communist Party, USA, will undoubtedly pay increased attention to the widespread nationalist movements springing up throughout the world, particularly when there is a communist or procommunist element involved. It has fully supported the Castro revolution in Cuba, the "freeing" of the Congo from the Belgian colonialists, and the struggle of the Latin-American masses against "Yankee imperialism." The Party has indicated that the struggle to end colonialism has reached a new broad level; therefore, the emergence of new Party groups and communist front organizations to deal with this issue may be expected.
5. As in the past, the communists magnify the evils of discrimination against the Negro people and other minority groups in the United States. In this election year, their attention has been focused on the alleged denial to these "second-class" citizens of the right to register and vote. It is evident that the Party will follow up its demand for a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination, to smash the "jim-crow" system in this country.
6. The Communist Party, USA, considers the need to attract young people to the communist movement of primary importance if the Party is to survive. To achieve this, it calls for the formation of new study groups, action groups, and also the organization of a labor-youth alliance which will be an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."
7. At the core of every Party activity, lies the phrase--"peace and peaceful coexistence" between the socialist bloc and the free nations of the world. The Party press may be depended upon to weave this concept into every possible issue while simultaneously proclaiming that this is the "epoch of the disintegration of imperialism" and the "final victory of world socialism."

## **I. FOREIGN POLICY**

1. Today, the balance of power in the world has tipped from the imperialist countries in favor of the socialist states, and this change has made possible the policy of peaceful coexistence.
2. Communist China should be recognized by the United States and admitted to the United Nations.
3. The United States should not interfere in Cuban affairs, should restore the full sugar quotas, and should turn the naval base at Guantanamo back to Cuba.
4. The Communist Party of the United States will fulfill its obligations of international solidarity with the Cuban revolution.
5. The Soviet Union will not tolerate continued aggression by Belgian or American imperialism against the Congo.
6. The aggressive American-Japanese mutual security treaty should be liquidated and a genuine peace treaty adopted.
7. The real murderers of the Japanese socialist leader, Inejiro Asanuma, are the "free world" leaders who brand their opponents of all persuasions as "subversive."
8. West Germany has emerged as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs.
9. The United States has made Turkey into an anti-Soviet spearhead of the cold war.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. Peaceful Coexistence**

"Peaceful coexistence is the only policy which is in accordance with the state of the world today. The basic shift in world relations, which has proceeded since the end of World War II, cannot be reversed. The main

historic trend continues, in favor of socialism, of independence from imperialism, of the forces of democracy and progress. Ours is the epoch of the disintegration of imperialism. It is the epoch of the rise, consolidation and final victory of world socialism. In such an epoch, the strength of the world forces arrayed against imperialism must continue to grow, and with it the realistic possibility of averting war between capitalist and socialist states and of establishing peaceful coexistence as a long-range policy. In such an epoch, war is not inevitable, and world peace and disarmament can be fought for as realizable goals."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 28.

"The world forces of progress draw their growing strength from different areas of movement and struggle--the world system of socialist nations, the newly won independent countries, the colonial peoples, the peoples and working class of the capitalist nations. What is it that gives unity to these movements, a unity that adds a new quality of strength? They are all on the right side of history. They are all elements of the new, healthy progressive direction of history.

"What is the new ingredient that has added such confidence to these forces? It is the realization that the scales of history have tipped in their favor; the realization that this new force is now the strongest element in human life.

"From this realization flows the new concepts, the new possibilities that, yes, civilization can move forward without world or nuclear war. So the concept of peaceful co-existence has become a banner for struggle, for movement. It is the unifying ingredient of all these different struggles and movements."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 23.

"...The imperialists, particularly the U. S. monopolists, oppose peaceful co-existence because of their inherent war-like character, their desire for high profits from armaments, their aim to undermine the socialist states and to recover their domination over the newly freed colonial



states and because they fear that the abatement of the cold war would help the cause of freedom of democratic and socialist advance. That is why peaceful co-existence will not come of itself but must be imposed on the imperialists by strong peace organizations and by unceasing struggle.

"It is possible, because of the changed world situation, particularly the strength of the socialist and peace forces..."

"As long as imperialism is a considerable power in the world, the struggle for peaceful co-existence and its maintenance will be a long term battle. The possibilities exist however, however today for attaining and maintaining it until such time as the victory of socialism on a world scale or in the greater part of the world ends for all time the danger of war."

The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, pp. 4, 9.

"THE STATEMENT of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties is a document of momentous importance...."

"CONFIRMING THE CORRECTNESS of the 1957 Declaration and Peace Manifesto of the Communist and Workers' Parties, that 'war is not fatally inevitable,' the Statement declares that world war 'can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.' "

"Now with the new Administration about to take over, it is even more necessary for the American people to make known their urgent desire for peace...."

"The people...should tell the new Administration that they want a change, an end to the cold war, they want a policy of peaceful coexistence..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 18, 1960, pp. 3, 10.

## 2. Communist China

"In connection with China...it is necessary to develop broad agitation and movement for recognition of the People's Republic and its admission to the UN...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 13.

"...Insist on the admittance of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations; its recognition by the United States; the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from the Chinese waters; and the repudiation of Chiang Kai-shek."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

"The fight for peace demands a far greater struggle for the recognition of People's China, for her admission to the United Nations, for an end to American occupation of Chinese territory through the puppet Chiang Kai-shek, and for the lifting of the total economic embargo which now exists."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 29.

## 3. United States Government Should Not Interfere in Cuban Affairs

"THE FLEET and warplanes in the Caribbean are criminal folly...."

"The nub of the matter is this: Cuba's enemies in the U. S. are moving, by hook or crook, to intervene militarily. This is the enormous danger and it imperils every one of us. The moment demands protest on a national scale: picketlines, such as the Committee for Fair Play to Cuba sponsored at the UN, resolutions, letters to newspapers, mass meetings, every variety of action that says: 'Hands off, Cuba. She has the right to her sovereignty....'"

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 3.

"...It is time the people of this country, particularly the Labor movement, tell Washington the elementary facts of life.

"Tell Washington--first of all--to stay out of Cuba and halt these military and economic shenanigans that bring upon our nation an onus that compares only with that the Nazis had less than a generation ago.

"The peace of the world is at stake in all this, and it is time our people said that, in no unmistakable terms, to those who are fooling with mankind's fate."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 3.

"...Discontinue all pressure on Cuba; stop interfering in her internal affairs; restore the full sugar quotas; turn the U. S. naval base at Quantanimo back to Cuba. Provide aid to the countries of Latin America without restriction or interference in their internal affairs, and without interfering with their sovereign right to develop and nationalize, if they wish, their basic industries."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

#### 4. Relationship of the Cuban and American Communist Parties

"...the Communist Party of the United States will fulfill its obligations of international solidarity with the Cuban revolution,

overcoming all difficulties that may be raised against us, come what may!

"May the fraternal unity of our Parties grow ever firmer in the common struggle against the monopolists of the United States and Yankee imperialism!

"Long live the Popular Socialist Party, vanguard of the nation and leader of the Cuban working class!

"Long live the Popular Socialist Party which lives by, and carries forward, the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism!

"Long live the international working class solidarity, anti-imperialist unity, and alliance of all who seek world peace.

"Long live friendship between the peoples of Cuba and the U. S. A.!

"Long live Cuba and its government led by Fidel Castro!"

James E. Jackson, "To the First Party of the Americas," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 34.

## 5. The Congo

"WE URGE LABOR and the American people to express full solidarity with and support to the Republic of Congo.

"1. Hands off the Republic of Congo.

"2. Africa for the Africans.

"3. Demonstrate and picket before the Belgian consulates and embassies demanding: Belgium, get out of the Congo! Hold demonstration meetings demanding: U.S., get out of the Congo! No help to the colonialists.

"4. Full material support and aid to the Republic of Congo."

The Worker,  
July 31, 1960, p. 10.

"EVENTS NOWADAYS MOVE with lightning speed, and nowhere is this more so than in Africa, where the national liberation movement is making tremendous strides forward. One colony after another is gaining its independence...

"Among these is the Belgian Congo, long regarded by the imperialists as a 'model colony' and one of the strongest bastions of colonialism. The crumbling of this fortress is a severe blow not only to the Belgian monopolists but to world imperialism--a blow which it is strenuously resisting....

"It is clear that behind the Belgian return in force lies the heavy hand of the American ruling circles, without whose backing the Belgian imperialists, compelled by forces beyond their control to grant independence to the Congo, would have been far less able to march in...."

"The Congolese people have the firm backing of the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries. The Soviet government has made it plain that it will not tolerate continued aggression against the Congo...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, pp. 1, 9.

"AFRICA'S FUTURE as a continent of free nations as well as the destiny of Congo is so directly related to the fate of Premier Patrice Lumumba that clamor exploded on a world scale insisting that the fascist-minded usurpers of the Congolese government be instantly brought to book.

"Matters were becoming starkly clear to many who were confused before. Charges rapidly expanded that the Western colonialists, led by U. S. imperialists and aided by a compliant UN executive, had helped bring the Belgian overlords back into the Congo saddle."

"The sadistic treatment meted the heroic Lumumba brought increased awareness everywhere that plots existed to subvert the entire African Freedom movement...."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 1.

6. Japan

"...The mass resistance of the Japanese people to the imposition of the aggressive American-Japanese treaty, spearheaded by the militant actions of the workers and students, have shaken Wall Street's cold-war empire to its very foundations.

"This resistance is of special significance in that it occurs in the main bastion of American imperialism in Asia, and moreover in a country which is itself a major imperialist power, with its own highly developed monopoly capital. It is a matter of no small import that in such a country as this the ruling class, though it has succeeded in ramming ratification of the treaty through parliament, finds itself unable to cope with or to muzzle the mass opposition of the people to its war-breeding policies."

"It is urgent, therefore, that the fight against the treaty be much more extensively developed in this country. The new treaty must be scrapped, at the same time, however, neither can the old treaty be left in force. It is no better than the new one, since its core is the maintenance of American military bases and troops on Japanese soil, and in some respects it is even worse. What is called for is the liquidation of both treaties and the adoption of a genuine peace treaty--a treaty between sovereign equals directed toward the prevention of nuclear war and the securing of peace and friendship with all Asian nations."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, pp. 3, 5.

7. Assassination of Japanese Socialist Leader

"Japan's beloved Socialist leader, Inejiro Asanuma, is dead. His youthful murderer committed suicide in prison, and the nation is beset by political unrest rivaling that which attended ratification of the U. S. -Japan military alliance."

"THE REAL KILLERS

"...the murderers of Asanuma are many, and their victims are legion...."

"The real murderers are not only in Japan, but in Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Madrid; in Taiwan, Korea, Indone-China, the Philippines, Guatemala, Algeria, the Congo. They are running SEATO, NATO, CENTO, not to mention AP, UPI and TIME.

"They are, in short, the people who contribute to the biggest lie of our age, the lie by means of which capitalist imperialism calls itself and its captives the 'free world' and brands its opponents of all persuasions as 'subversive.'"

The Worker,  
November 20, 1960, p. 5.

8. West Germany

"WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM is emerging as the principal ally of American imperialism in world affairs."

"The major economic objective of the U. S. -German imperialist alliance is joint and parallel expansion of investment and trade through most of the capitalist world, particularly Western Europe, Asia and Africa, including British and French colonies and spheres of influence. Its decisive

political characteristics are militarism, provocations against the lands of socialism, repression of the national liberation movement, undermining the sovereignty of weaker capitalist states."

Victor Perlo, "West German and U. S. Imperialism," Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 48.

9. Turkey

"...Wall Street's cold-war outpost in Turkey is...tottering. Here...American imperialism has maintained corrupt, undemocratic regimes, subservient to its interests, which have made Turkey into an anti-Soviet spearhead of the cold war at the expense of the Turkish people."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 9.



## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The communist election platform urges the American people to struggle for world peace, full rights for the Negro people, protection against automation, and the formation of a "broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement."
2. Senator John F. Kennedy was elected President by the votes of the workers, the Negro people, and other minority groups; therefore, he is committed to honor their mandate to carry out a program which the Party feels will benefit the interests of these groups.
3. The prospective for socialism throughout the world, including the United States, is brighter than ever before.
4. The 15th Assembly of the United Nations, spearheaded by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, has made distinct contributions to the fight for peace, colonial liberation, and socialism.
5. Appointed Government bodies such as the National Security Council operate without control and are becoming the instruments by which the giant monopolies dictate Government policies.
6. No one can violate the principles of democratic centralism and remain a member of the Communist Party of the United States.
7. Free medical care under Federal supervision and at Government expense should be provided in America as it is in the socialist countries.
8. Low-rent desegregated housing should be made available for the slum dwellers.
9. The impact of the film "Operation Abolition" actually strengthened beliefs that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was itself un-American and should be abolished.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. Communist Election Platform

#### "THE COMMUNISTS' ELECTION PLATFORM"

"The Communist platform puts forward a 6-point program

"Urging dedication of the American people to struggle unselfishly for a world at peace."

"Demanding full rights for the Negro people; the barring from Congress of all Dixiecrats elected in states where Negroes are denied their voting rights, and the breakup of the huge plantation type farms and the distribution of this land among the Negro and poor white farm people.

"Proposing a rise in the purchasing power of the people, and their protection against the effects of automation.

"Calling for restoration of full democracy through enforcement of the Bill of Rights and repeal of all repressive legislation.

"Asking for adoption of a Federal Youth Act to guarantee every child the right to a full and free education.

"Seeking an end to the disgraceful 'payola' which has infected the entire fabric of American society with corruption and degeneration."

"Declaring that the Communists have the same interests as other working people and have confidence in the people, the platform declares that 'the Communist Party, though devoted to the socialist reorganization of society, will give all-out support to every struggle of the people to win (their) immediate demands, and to form a broad grass-roots Farmer-Labor movement.'"

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 3.

2. 1960 Election Outcome

"THE ELECTION of John F. Kennedy as President by a relatively narrow margin was possible only because of the increased vote for the Democratic ticket by the workers, the Negro people and other minority groups..."

"The fact that the unprecedented electorate divided almost equally emphasizes...that millions voted for both candidates without any real enthusiasm, and millions voted for Kennedy only because they had no other way to defeat Nixon."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, pp. 1, 12.

"NOW THAT IT IS CLEAR that their candidate, Richard M. Nixon, lost the presidential race, the Wall Street monopolists and their camp-followers, the Dixiecrats, are trying to steal the elections.

"That is the real meaning of the barrage of propaganda to convince the American people that they did not give President-elect John F. Kennedy and the new Congress a mandate to reflect the policies of the Eisenhower administration and to move ahead with a progressive program."

"KENNEDY WAS not elected by those who voted for Nixon, many of whom were confused by appeals to religious and racial prejudice into balloting against their own interest.

"Kennedy was elected by the vote of the working people, the Negro people, the Jewish people, the Americans of Mexican and other Latin American descent and the senior citizens.

"It is their mandate that Kennedy is committed to honor--a halt to the menace of unemployment, repeal of restrictive anti-union laws like

the Landrum-Griffin Act; guarantee of the constitutional rights of the Negro people; federal-paid medical care for the older citizens, and a real start toward disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 20, 1960, p. 3.

"...The principal aim of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, in threatening legal recounts, is to bring reactionary political pressure to bear on the Kennedy Administration...to nullify the mandate of labor, the Negro people and the peace forces....In view of the moves by the Republicans and Dixiecrats, the narrowness of the Presidential contest should serve as a stern warning to labor, the Negro people, and to the peace and progressive forces that the promissory notes delivered by Kennedy and the Democrats can be cashed in only through the bitterest struggle of labor and the popular masses, waged with persistence, unity and independence around an effective program of action...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, pp. 7-8.

### 3. Era of Socialism

"Capitalism is on the downgrade of history. The splendid example of the USSR...and other socialist countries, and the security, health and happiness, socialism brings to all, will finally spur our people on to make the great change. Our grandchildren will surely live in a Socialist America!"

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"After forty-three years, Socialism is here to stay. No one is forcing it on those who live under capitalism. But what the imperialist rulers in the world today frantically realize is the growing attractiveness of socialism\* to toilers everywhere. Cancers eat at the heart of capitalism--

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

poverty, insecurity, unemployment, automation, taxes, racial discrimination, the arms race, the cold war. It cannot guarantee life, liberty or happiness to the plain people. Try as they will, by lies, misrepresentation and suppression of the truth, the ruling class cannot forever keep the facts of Socialist life away from our people. The King Canutes of today cannot hold back the tide of history. Nor will the people of the world, our own included, permit them to destroy humanity and civilization by nuclear warfare, in their mad frenzy of rule or ruin."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 4.

"...the Soviet economy is growing far more rapidly than that of the United States and is bound, in the not too distant future, to surpass\* it. This is the great historical fact of our times, and no amount of statistical juggling or fakery can wish it away."

"...It is clear that nothing short of a socialist America would produce anything approaching the Soviet rate of growth, which stems from a socialist economy.

"The ultimate goal for the American people must, of course, be socialism...."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month," Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 9, 10.

4. Khrushchev Visit to the United Nations Assembly

"Unprecedented developments marked the close of the first month of the 15th UN Assembly. This was especially true in the field of colonial liberation, reconstitution of the UN executive to accord with world changes, and the annual test vote on inclusion of China.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Furthermore, seeds were sown in the most decisive of humanity's interests--i. e. disarmament."

"Distinct contributions were made to each of these areas of mankind's most urgent problems. It came about, even the most grudging of commentators admit, because the socialist sector of the world spear-headed by Nikita Khrushchev, pressed for it...."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 2.

"THE 15TH ASSEMBLY of the United Nations is an historic event, a great landmark in the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism. It reflects and registers the enormous changes in the world and in the alignments since the end of World War II and the formation of the UN 15 years ago...."

"The 15th Assembly has special significance because of two facts. First, it takes place at a moment of an unprecedented upsurge and maturing of the struggles of the colonial peoples on all continents...but first and foremost in Africa where great struggles and great leaders are rising and having their impact on the entire world...."

"The second significant aspect which marks the 15th Assembly is the great initiative of the great Soviet Union and its leader Nikita Khrushchev. \* This initiative, which brought to this country almost all of the outstanding heads of state, not a few against their will, is itself the most striking confirmation, not only of brilliant leadership but of the correctness and effectiveness of the creative Marxist-Leninist policies developed by the USSR under Khrushchev's leadership and by the world Communist movement."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 5.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV is gone, but the thunder of his voice and his ringing appeals for peace will continue to echo throughout the entire session of the United Nations. The supreme issues which the Soviet delegation raised remain--general disarmament, an end to colonialism, the immediate cessation of provocations of the kind of U-2, peaceful coexistence, a summit conference in the spring on West Berlin and Germany, the reorganization of the general secretaryship of the UN into a representative leadership. These and other crucial questions will now be debated in the UN and throughout our country with greater regard for the determination, strength, and peace desires of the socialist states, the neutral states, and the masses of the world."

"The historic UN session with the socialist and non-imperialist states playing the chief role reveals the great and mounting strength and power of the peace forces. Imperialism still has a mechanical majority of the votes in the UN, but not of the people of the world. It is still strong and a vicious force, but its power is declining. The socialist and peaceful new nations have moved to the center of the stage. Peace is possible, but it will require a stubborn, militant mass struggle."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 4.

5. State Monopoly Capitalism

"STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

"...A system of dictation and control is being built that more and more bypasses the traditional constitutional and democratic institutions. This is being brought about by the establishment of appointed government bodies which increasingly take over functions and authority that have until now rested with elected bodies.

"Thus we have the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the F. B. I. and a host of other agencies and committees, set up by the executive branch and Congress and operating secretly, without control or check. These bodies, whose existence is based mainly on the

cold war and whose secrecy is justified on grounds of 'national security,' are steadily creeping into control of ever greater spheres of government affairs and public life. They are more and more becoming the instruments through which the monopoly imperialist forces control and dictate the policies of government. The countless billions of dollars involved in war contracts, tax exemptions, etc., are passed on to the monopolies through these special governmental bodies.

"This process vastly increases the powers of the executive, and moves in the direction of giving the monopolies ever greater and more direct influence and control over the decisions and policies of the state. This is the structural form of the development of state monopoly capitalism in the U.S.A."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960,  
pp. 12-13.

## 6. Democratic Centralism

"At a meeting held on November 14, the Westchester Club of the Communist Party, of which Alexander Bittelman had been a member, voted unanimously to expel him from the Party."

"In the Spring of 1959, Bittelman informed the Party leadership that he had written a book..."

"...The book appeared in September, 1960... By this action Bittelman has brazenly violated the Party principles of democratic centralism and taken the path of anti-Party struggle, together with the revisionists who left the Party previously, and has thereby forfeited his right to membership...."



"Like any other Party member, Bittelman has the right to express his views, either orally or in writing. But such views must be in accord with Party principles. A member of the Party cannot use his membership to advocate views in direct opposition to the very principles of the organization which he joined to uphold. Differences and criticism on tactical questions are entirely permissible--indeed, indispensable. But no one can write books directed against the Party and retain his membership."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 10.

"... Bittelman... has departed from Marxism-Leninism and Party principles..."

"The time is past when established Party policy and principles can be defied with impunity, making a shambles of democratic centralism and harming the unity of the Party."

"On the Expulsion of Bittelman,"  
Political Affairs, December, 1960,  
p. 52.

## 7. Free Medical Care

"THE MEDICAL care question is today one of the biggest scandals of capitalism--especially in the United States, the foremost capitalist country...."

"Today there is mounting evidence, much of it from sources very loyal to capitalism, that 'free enterprise' in medical care--the concept that it is the individual's own problem--is more and more degenerating into 'legal' and criminal rackets. Before long we will

face so serious a crisis in medical care that very drastic steps towards a federal health care program will be urgent and inevitable."

"To comprehend how retarded our American civilization is on health and the brutal ethics behind our system, you have to visit the socialist countries....

"In those countries, including China, all medical care is ENTIRELY at state expense....

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that unions cannot really solve the mounting health problem through collective bargaining. The real need is for an all-inclusive health care plan for ALL at government cost and under federal supervision...."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 4.

"...In the German Democratic Republic, a small country and relatively poor, compared to the United States, full and complete medical care insurance is taken for granted. Even citizens who do not see eye to eye with the government on some other points of its program would never again relinquish this health insurance."

"There are still economic weaknesses and problems to be overcome in the GDR, to be sure. But in providing medical care for its citizens, old or young and without regard to income, this country has left west Germany far behind, not to speak of the United States. It would be good if some of our senior citizens could come here and see for themselves. Then they could go home and tell their reactionary Congressmen a thing or two how a socialist state takes care of the health of its oldsters."

The Worker,  
September 25, 1960, p. 9.

all..." "...more hospitals; free medical surgical and hospital care for

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

8. Slum Clearance

"...Slum clearance and low-rent, desegregated housing--with the clearly defined requirements that such housing first be provided for the slum dwellers."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

9. "Operation Abolition"

"An attempt to stem the rising tide of the movement to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee met with little success among the students at Northwestern University..."

"At a showing of the film 'Operation Abolition'...at least half of the 300 Northwestern students in attendance booed and hissed through-out."

"The hostility was apparently a surprise to the reactionary group of students who had expected the showing to combat gathering momentum on campus for support for abolishing the unconstitutional committee."

"...the impact of the film, showing the committee subjecting American citizens to inquisition-like humiliation, seemed...to

strengthen beliefs that the committee itself was Un-American and should be abolished."

The Worker,  
December 25, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. In order to make real progress in the fight for jobs and basic reforms, labor must join with its natural allies--the small farmers, small business, the Negro people--in the battle against the ruthless monopolies.
2. The present trade-union leadership is reactionary and supports the cold war policy.
3. Labor leaders are generally disregarded for important Government positions because the capitalist rulers do not encourage political representation of the working class.
4. Repressive, antilabor legislation should be repealed.
5. The General Electric strike resulted in a serious blow to labor when the corporation was successful in getting the workers to accept its terms without union intervention.
6. Automation, which leads to growing unemployment in capitalist countries, can be partially offset by the 30-hour week without reduction in pay.
7. Under the socialist system, automation is a "blessing."
8. Disarmament and a peaceful economy, which would be the basis for tax reductions, expanded outlays for social welfare, and other measures, would enhance employment prospects.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Labor Unity

"...if labor is to make real headway, it must strive to unite behind itself its natural allies in the battle against the powerful, greedy trusts. These allies are the small farmers, the Negro people, small business--all of whom are in one way or another ground down by the ruthless monopolies.

"It is labor's task to bring all these groups together in a powerful alliance against monopoly, to curb it and to win basic reforms for the American people. Labor must move in the direction of uniting them in a new people's party led by labor and expressing their interests and not those of big business."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"The fight for jobs is not that of the working class alone, but is part of the general struggle against the monopolies by all sections of the people--small business, the working farmers, the Negro people and all others ground down by big business. These are the allies with whom the working class must unite in common battle."

"Whatever the precise turns which the economy may take in the months to come, it is clear that stormy battles lie ahead for the American working class. The outcome of these battles, directed against the powerful, grasping U.S. trusts and their efforts to force the working people to bear the brunt of the crisis, will be of profound importance to the masses of American people and to workers everywhere."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1960, p. 10.

## 2. Union Leaders "Cold War" Advocates

"Our working class has a glorious tradition and a wealth of experience, mainly in the economic field of struggle. This militancy of the workers, forces even the conservative trade union leaders to give at least lip service to economic struggles and take part in them. However, this militancy and understanding toward economic questions, this very positive characteristic has not extended to the political or foreign affairs area. Because of this serious weakness, the bureaucratic trade-union leaders have been able to continue giving their support to the worst of the cold-war imperialist policies. Very often they have spear-headed the anti-Communist crusades.

"However, what is new is a growing trend in the ranks of the trade union membership and of important elements in leadership towards breaking away from the positions of support to the cold war and imperialist policies.

"The struggle for peace is breaking through the cold war barrier set up by the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 21.

"UNFORTUNATELY, the men who profess to speak for labor today, like George Meany and William Green before him, have forgotten entirely the spirit and meaning of the Revolution. To listen to them on July 4, you'd think this is an occasion for thanking God for saving us from Communism. They have committed the labor movement officially to a course that allies it to those who have made the land of Washington and Valley Forge the seat for world reaction and the arsenal for suppressing the revolutions of the 20th century, where the workers are in the leadership."

"Fortunately, of late many voices have been raised within the American unions against this Meany... policy that desecrates the Declaration of Independence and the grave of American revolutionists. Let us hope that before many July Fourths pass, labor will get back to the spirit of the mechanics of 1776."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 4.

### 3. Labor Leaders Disregarded for Important Government Positions

"...the basic fact stands out that labor leaders are disregarded for government positions of importance.

"...basic reasons are:

"...the absence of class consciousness in the thinking among leaders of trade unions, hence a reluctance to recognize the idea that the labor movement should even seek representation;

"...reluctance by the ruling capitalist class of the country, whether through Republicans or Democrats, to encourage the idea that workers should have political representation even through their conservative officials;"

"...the absence of more independent political action by labor gives the ruling class a confidence it really can rule without a partnership at the highest level of government with men who may be subject to the pressure of the trade unions."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, pp. 4,9.

#### "'Labor' Man in the Kennedy Cabinet"

"...The man presumed to represent 'labor' is Arthur Goldberg, counsel for the AFL-CIO..."

"The selection of Goldberg apart from his personal merit, is fresh confirmation of the fact that those who rule America nurse an undying antipathy towards the labor movement, even for its very conservative pro-capitalist labor leaders. They don't trust their best friends in trade union leadership.

"Goldberg is in no sense a part of the labor movement... He is a lawyer who won the bid for some major legal business in the labor movement, and has made a very profitable career out of it...."

The Worker,  
December 25, 1960, p. 10.

#### 4. "Antilabor" Legislation

"Aided by such instruments as the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, the corporations are preparing a new assault against labor. The



situation demands all-out united action by all organized labor if it is to successfully defend its gains and its organization...."

"A clear need exists nationally for a massive campaign by labor and its allies to repeal forthwith the fascist-like Landrum-Griffin Act. It is important to remember that this bill was originally known as the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill. Today organized labor is in a position to bring pressure to bear upon presidential candidate Kennedy to pledge that the repressive feature of this legislation will be repealed."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

"SECRETARY OF LABOR James Mitchell chose to bring the National Maritime Union on the judicial carpet to test the government's new sweeping police powers over unions under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law...."

"No person who calls himself a unionist can look with favor on Mitchell's outrageous action, no matter how urgent it may be to take action to protect the rights of a union's members. Mitchell is clearly far less concerned with the rights of members, than with the fortunes of his party's politicians and the administration's coldwar policies...."

"The important lesson in the case of Mitchell vs NMU is that the most dangerous provisions of the KLG Law are those 'rights' sections that set up the government as the arbitrator, policeman and dictator over unions--all unions, including the most conservative. And in this undertaking the best cooperation to the government prosecutor comes from those labor leaders who arrogantly concentrate more power in the hands of the top bureaucracy."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 4, 9.

5. General Electric Strike

"General Electric moved for injunctions at all its major locations along the 54-plant strike front as the walkout of 70,000 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers neared the end of its second week."

"GE makes no secret of its aim to break the workers away from the union and set an example of new 'relations' with the workers...."

"GE's plan to front for the employers for a new 'labor relations' policy, may well develop into an issue superseding the bargaining issues that led to the strike. As in the big steel strike, when the bid by the companies to crack long established working rules became the primary issue, so GE's far reaching objectives may prove the greater mobilizing force in labor ranks in defense of unionism."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 2, 11.

"BIG BUSINESS executives studied with interest and unconcealed pleasure the ill-fated three-weeks' strike of General Electric workers and its settlement, with the signs pointing clearly to a fresh stiffening against labor.

"The strike, called by James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers, with not even an effort to get unity of action among the many unions in the giant chain, ended on the company's terms. Capitulation to the terms by the IUE's negotiating committee was foreshadowed three days earlier by the union's acceptance without a strike of a virtually identical pact for the Westinghouse chain."

"The pressure for Carey's resignation is...coming from IUE members who see the severe blow to labor as the end result of a course, under leadership of Carey..."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, pp. 3, 10.

"THE THREE-WEEK General Electric strike ended with the most serious blow suffered by labor since the organizing drives of the thirties. The real measure of the result is not the contract terms. Unions have come out of negotiations with no better terms but have not suffered nearly as serious a blow. The important fact is that one of the major nationwide corporations--second only to GM in number of employes -- refused to bargain with the union, simply laid down the terms, and said 'take it or leave it' and broke through..."

"...Unless the labor movement finds the way to restore true and full unity, and becomes aroused in true emergency spirit, the GE formula will spread like a plague."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 4.

6. Automation under Capitalism

"...In contrast with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist nations, where their economy is growing at a rapid rate, our rate of industrial growth has declined; our economy is unstable with a new economic crisis developing...To meet this situation, the people should fight to:

"Raise the purchasing power and living standards of the people; protect the people against automation and the encroachments of big business."

"...Establish a universal six-hour day, 30 hour week, without reduction in weekly pay."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6, 7.

"Today the steel industry finds itself in a new and much less favorable situation. This is manifested not merely in the low level of operation, but particularly in the absence of price increases...."

"The drive for maximum profits will, of course, go on, and the steel barons will strive to meet the new situation by stepping up their attacks on working conditions and jobs. They will seek to increase the already severe speedup all the more. The introduction of automation will proceed apace, and with it the drive to secure the maximum benefits from it in terms of elimination of workers through destruction of work rules and other such measures."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 4, 5.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs a 30-hour week with no cut in pay to offset the displacement of workers by automation and to combat the growing menace of unemployment."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

7. Automation "Blessing" under Socialism

"...Automation, which is a blessing in a socialist country, is a menace in a capitalist country, creating mass permanent unemployment. This is true today in the following American industries--steel, automobile, meat packing, mining, transportation and in office work."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"...The USSR's First State Ball-Bearing Plant on the outskirts of Moscow occupies more than eight and a half acres, and produces 70 million ball bearing parts a year. Fifty per cent of the working force of 10,000 are youth, and 50 per cent are women.

"THE SHOW-CASE part of this plant, from the standpoint of automation, is a so-called 'experimental shop' where every process in the plant is done by machines without the intervention of a single worker."

"THE EXPERIMENTAL shop here is one of many pilot plants--prototypes of industry under communism--set up in various industries in different regions of the USSR. These pilot plants were inaugurated by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party which set the goal of comprehensive automation of industry and agriculture as a requisite for building the material and technical base of communism.

"The trend from automation of certain production operations to the complete automation of technologies, shops and plants already has the upper hand. Given a world of peace, it is certain of realization in the next 10-15 years.

"Of course, you may say that the methods employed at the First State Ball-Bearing Plant are not feasible in the United States. And you would be right, But if American workers controlled their state and industry, as workers do in this country, so-called 'technological unemployment' in our country would not exist."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 5.

8. Fight for Jobs Tied to Fight for Peace

"The problem of jobs and job security is truly the number one problem for American workers."

"...the fight for jobs is tied to the fight for peace....What is needed...is a positive, militant campaign for disarmament and an economy of peace as a basis for tax reductions, considerably expanded outlays for social welfare and other measures which will greatly enhance the prospects of employment."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, October, 1960, pp. 9-10.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs a program which will guarantee world peace--a program to end the cold war, to settle differences through negotiations in good faith, to carry out disarmament and establish a peacetime economy with lower taxes and greater social welfare expenditures.

"It needs a program of greatly expanded social security--a program providing a much higher minimum wage, greatly improved unemployment compensation.."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"THE LATEST FIGURES on unemployment indicate that more than 5,000,000 people will be out of work by Jan. 1. Millions more are working part time. Immediate attention is needed, therefore, to amend the unemployment insurance laws so that the unemployed will not go hungry, so that they will be assured aid."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The communist farm program opposes driving farmers from the land, supports organization of all agricultural workers and a food stamp plan; wants enough Federal aid to assure every farmer a decent standard of living; and favors extension of credit by the United States through the United Nations for the purchase of our surplus farm production.
2. New legislation is needed for the protection of small farmers against the demands of the giant food monopolies.
3. The "farm problem" is inherent in capitalism and can ultimately be solved only under socialism.
4. The giant monopolies in the farming and food processing fields in American agriculture have reduced migrant farm workers to a colonial status.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Communist Farm Program

###### "THE PARTY'S TASK

"Our task... is to outline main objectives, and to win agreement on these main objectives by farmers and farm workers, organized and unorganized, by the organizations of farmers and farm workers:

"These objectives should include:

"1. We are opposed to driving farmers from the land, under whatever pretext; we support their right to make a decent living on the farms they now occupy; we believe that the main purpose of federal and state legislation should be to achieve this end. We oppose all programs for easing farmers off the land under deceptive devices. These devices include 'assisting the development of these (distressed) areas along industrial lines'; the 'education and training of young people to take their places in an industrial society'; and 'aid in placing persons displaced in rural areas in suitable jobs'...

"2. We oppose the campaign in the South to drive Negro croppers, and other farmers and laborers off the land. We support them against White Citizens Council oppression and brutality, and in their struggle for constitutional rights.

"3. We support the organization of all agricultural workers in trade unions of the AFL-CIO; the extension of minimum wage, social security, and other federal legislation to them.

"4. We favor the extension of the food stamp plan to ensure that everyone in the U. S. shall receive an adequate diet.

"5. We believe that the main and immediate goal for federal aid should be to assure every farmer at least a minimum decent standard of living. To this end we suggest that the basis for aid should be: (a) benefit payments to be limited to the first \$5,000 of sales and (b) the first \$5,000 of production for sale should be exempt from controls, cutback, or retirement...."

"6. We favor the extension of credit by the U. S., through the United Nations, for the purchase of our 'surplus' farm product on. (UN participation could help prevent the export of U. S. 'surpluses' from destroying existing markets of other exporting countries.)"

"There are two major aspects to our outlook as far as developing a farm program is concerned. One of them is to establish certain Marxist principles for our activities in the farming areas; to have a common understanding of what the farm crisis is; what the class structure is in agriculture; and to approach the problems of specific areas or crops with that as an essential part of our political makeup.

"Our other main task is to emphasize certain overall issues, overall objectives, overall class approaches. These would include the struggle for peace; the development of an anti-monopoly coalition; the



struggle for civil rights and civil liberties; and the effort to win an alliance of the working class and the toiling farmers."

Erik Bert, "The American Farm Crisis,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, pp. 39, 40.

## 2. New Legislation Needed for Small Farmers' Protection

"The main political objective of monopoly capital in agriculture is to speed the elimination of millions more farmers from the land. Big capital sees any and all ameliorative legislation as an obstacle that must be eliminated as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. And they employ all avenues to this end--the propaganda about 'handouts'; about the tax burden which farmers levy on the taxpayers; the high cost of food to the consumers as a result of farm legislation; the desirability of 'inefficient' farmers getting off the land and into useful jobs in the cities, and so on."

Erik Bert, "The American Farm Crisis,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 38.

"...demand new legislation to protect and aid the small farmer against the ravages of the giant food monopolies and the banker-controlled factory farms."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

## 3. U. S. Farm Problem Inherent in Capitalism

"Is it possible to 'solve' the farm problem...short of socialism' The 'farm problem' is built into capitalism. It is the contradiction of town and country, of self-employed producers and capitalist production; and, today, of self-employed producers and monopoly; contradictions whose origin coincides with the inception of capitalism... The task is to arouse the working class and the small and middle farmers in a common struggle for the right of the farmers to remain on the land now. While that would succor millions who are now threatened, it would in no wise 'solve' the 'farm problem.'"

"On the Farm Question: A Discussion,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 40.

#### 4. Migrant Farm Workers

"THE ALL-OVER situation of domestic migrants in the U. S. today is different--and definitely worse--than in the 'Grapes of Wrath' thirties. The basic difference is that the overwhelming majority of the stateless, rich less, voteless persons making up the country's principal migrant streams are Negro and Mexican-American."

"...as what has been called agribusiness increasingly takes over, misfortune is helped along, the pattern is more deliberately set, all the forces of racial discrimination brought to bear.

"Through their absolute control and manipulation of the half million imported contract migrants...the big canners' associations, processors, food chains and corporate farms which dominate American agriculture, have been able to reduce both these foreign workers and the estimated 400,000 to 800,000 domestic migrants to a factually colonial status."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 6.

"WHEN WE TOSSED off the phrase...about documentaries lacking the courage of their advertisements we were forgetting Edward R. Murrow. This dean of the TV documentary is the honorable exception that strains the rule, as he proved...on a Friday night special entitled, 'Harvest of Shame,' about the nation's migrant workers."

"'WE BROKE EVEN,' said a worker interviewed by Mr. Murrow when asked how he fared after being hired in the Florida shape-up and after following the crops northward to New Jersey....

"And that...summed up the futile battle of the Negro, the Mexican-American and the other migrant families to get out of the rut into which they have been pressed by the nation's most powerful economic and political forces."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 7.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The struggle to end colonialism has reached a new level and should be supported not only within communist circles but on a united-front basis.
2. Latin-American countries, struggling against the grip of Wall Street imperialism, should be fully supported.
3. American imperialism should be defeated in its attempts to overthrow the Cuban revolution through economic warfare and preparations for military intervention.
4. The United States Government and its imperialist allies, who have returned the Belgian colonialists to power in the Congo, should get out and give the Congolese people real independence.
5. Puerto Rico would be much better off with full independence than as the United States State Department's showcase for underdeveloped nations.
6. The South Korean people are determined to get rid of the entire system of government remaining from the Rhee regime and achieve a unified Korea.
7. The Portuguese slave colony in Angola, Africa, which has the American Government's "blessing," is under attack from the free African peoples and the socialist nations.
8. The first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples indicates that the Soviet Union will expand its diplomatic activity on behalf of the national liberation struggles of colonial peoples and still-dependent underdeveloped states.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Communist Program on Colonialism

"The struggle to end colonialism everywhere has been raised to an immediate realizable issue by the world upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial people everywhere, dramatized by the heroic struggle of the people

of Cuba, the Congo, Algeria, South Africa and elsewhere. It is necessary for our Party to conduct an ideological campaign to clarify the entire membership on the full meaning of this and to bring this realization to as many Americans as we can reach. It is necessary to mobilize support for these struggles among the masses and especially to assume greater responsibility in connection with the struggles of the Cuban people and the people of Puerto Rico. Permanent committees have to be established to deal with Latin America and Africa both within the Party itself as well as of a united front character...."\*

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 13.

"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

"...And end of all colonialism..."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"...since the opening of the 15th session of the UN General Assembly, we can safely say without any contradiction from anywhere, the UN organization will never be the same again. It is a new organization with the new African nations admitted. The total is now 99. The numerical increase in the UN is not the only change.

"The new approach to end colonialism and the struggle for Peace have reached a broader level than ever before."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

\*Underlined portion italicized in original.

2. Latin America

"Washington, undeterred by the defeats Wall Street imperialism suffered the middle of June in the Far East and by the victories of the new African nations over colonialism, has now turned its force to Latin America where it seeks to maintain the grip of Wall Street imperialism. This, despite the signs that the nations of the Americas are straining to secure their independence."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1960, p. 1.

"...Hands off Cuba and the Congo. Full support to Castro and the Cuban and all other Latin American people struggling against U. S. imperialist oppression."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Important steps were taken last week-end to streamline the N. Y. State organization of the Communist Party and also to strengthen its mass work in a number of fields."

"MAJOR ACTIVITIES"

"...Giving more attention to the struggle...against colonialism, with major emphasis on support for Cuba and the struggle of the Latin American masses against Yankee imperialism."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 12.

3. Cuba

"Today, American imperialism strives to undermine and destroy the revolution of the Cuban people through economic warfare, accompanied by plots and preparations for military intervention.... The fight for peace, which is menaced by these aggressive imperialist policies, demands an unrelenting struggle by the American people against the actions of U.S. imperialism in these and other parts of the world. It demands their whole-hearted support for all struggle of colonial and oppressed peoples for their freedom."

"On Peace and Peaceful Coexistence,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960,  
pp. 28-29.

"Raise the demand:"

"... That our government follow a policy of Hands Off Cuba..."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"If the Eisenhower administration and the powers-that-be had within them a single grain of the glorious American tradition, they would be hailing the Cuban Republic on this anniversary of the 26th of July Movement, instead of disgracefully, shamefully trying to overthrow it for Wall Street imperialism.

"We are sure that every forward-looking American wants the Cuban Republic to succeed. The best way to help is to write or wire President Eisenhower at the White House, Washington, demanding that the government keep its hands off Cuba, halt all economic aggression and end the planning of subversion and military invasion of the brave republic in the Antilles."

The Worker,  
July 24, 1960, p. 1.

4. The Congo

"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

"...That U.S. government and its imperialist allies and colonialists get out of the Congo--and leave the riches of the Congo for the Congolese peoples."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Real independence for the Congo... requires that Belgian imperialism get out of the country; even more, it requires that U.S. imperialism get out. The Congolese people must be free to build their industries and develop their economy for their own benefit."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 10.

"...In the Congo, Wall St. allies itself with Belgian imperialism, with the aim of taking into its own hands control of the country's resources and depriving the Congolese people of their hard-won independence."

The Worker,  
August 21, 1960, p. 5.

"THE WORLD is horrified by the fascist and sadistic treatment accorded illegally-arrested Premier Patrice Lumumba of the Congo. The world must act at once...."

"Manacled, his head shaven, beaten to the point of torture, the statesman is the prisoner of President Kasavubu and his military

partner-in-crime, Col. Mobutu. They cannot deny complicity. Behind them... is Western colonial might spearheaded by the U. S. State Department. They have brought the Belgian colonialists back into position of power."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 3.

5. Puerto Rico

"... Full independence for Puerto Rico."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"Now that the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, by polling less than 10 percent of the total vote last election day, lost its right to participate officially in future election, it is imperative for all of us to show this independence movement that it has friends in the U. S. This is a 'must' for all of us-- Puerto Ricans and non- Puerto Ricans--who share the belief (not just based on blind faith or romantic sentimentalism, but on Marxist science and the experience of other new nations in the last few years) that Puerto Rico will be at least five times better off with independence than as the State Department's showcase for under-developed nations built by a Puerto Rican general contractor named Munoz Marin."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 4.

6. South Korea

"The collapse of the Rhee regime is the collapse of U.S. policy in South Korea. An effort is being made to stem the tide by replacing the deposed regime with a carbon copy, disguised by some formal changes in the constitution and some minor concessions. None of the basic popular demands have been met. The repressive laws on political parties and the press remain. The police force is preserved, with its former head replaced by his assistant. Rhee himself, carrying suitcases stuffed with dollars, has been removed to Honolulu, out of reach of the people's wrath.



"But these efforts to create an illusion of change will not work. Demonstrations and protests are continuing. The South Korean people are determined to get rid not only of Rhee but of his entire system. They are determined to achieve a unified Korea. And they will succeed. Like the Japanese events, the Korean uprising heralds the approaching end of U.S. rule in Asia. It is serving as an example and a stimulus to other oppressed Asian peoples."

Hyman Lumer, "Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 9.

7. Angola

"AMERICAN diplomats are harassed by fears of another African revolution.... The rumbles come from the Portuguese Congo, officially known as Angola, on the African west coast.

"This is an enormous slave colony. It is 10 times the size of Pennsylvania. It has rich diamond mines and a railroad, in which Wall Street is interested. Mines and railroad are worked with forced labor. And this slavery has the American Government's blessing."

"This slave system is directed by the colony's Governor General, who is appointed by Salazar, the fascist dictator, who is Ike's 'tremendous friend and ally.'

"This 'friend and ally' is America's partner in the NATO anti-Soviet military alliance. And he is regarded by all the imperialist rulers as a pillar of the 'free world' and the capitalist--colonialist way of life.

"But this pillar of slavery is very shaky today. The Portuguese slave system is under heavy attack from the free African peoples and the Socialist nations. And the iniquities that Portugal has practiced since 1482 must come to an end."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, pp. 6, 7-9.

8. Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples

"Economic and technical aid far exceeding the 10 billion ruble credit (\$2.5 billion) already extended for trade and construction of 383 enterprises underway in 20 underdeveloped countries can be expected from the Soviet Government in coming months. Moreover, the USSR will expand, rather than relax, its diplomatic activity on behalf of national liberation struggles of colonial peoples and still dependent underdeveloped states.

"This is the meaning of the actions taken at the first conference of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples..."

"Essentially the Soviet foreign aid program is a projection on a global scale of Lenin's principles under which the Great Russian nation, which before 1917 was an oppressor of other nations in the Czarist empire, has assisted these other peoples since the revolution to overcome their heritage of Czarist exploitation. For four decades this assistance has been reflected in greater proportional expenditures by the Soviet Government for economic and cultural development of these former backward peoples-- a fact which helps to explain why all these central Asian republic have far outstripped their nonsocialist neighbors in per capita production of power, machinery and food."

The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, pp. 6, 7, 9.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Labor needs strong, effective civil rights legislation guaranteeing full democracy for all Americans, Negro and white.
2. A whole series of restrictive laws and anticommunist statutes which prevented the Communist Party from entering the elections under its own banner should be repealed.
3. The Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act and the Taft-Hartley Act restrict labor's organizing and bargaining power and should be repealed.
4. Henry Winston, "railroaded" to jail under the Smith Act, is the victim of white chauvinism and should be granted executive clemency.
5. The imperialist nature of American capitalism has resulted in the abandonment by the United States Government of "rule by law" as evidenced by its policy of vindicating actual physical aggression into another's territory.
6. The House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee are unpatriotic and must be abolished.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Civil Rights Legislation

"Restore full democracy for all our people by revitalizing and enforcing the Bill of Rights, and repealing all restrictive and repressive legislation."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6-7.

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs strong, effective civil rights legislation to guarantee to Negro Americans the full exercise of those democratic rights which are supposed to be assured to all Americans.

"It needs measures to end the McCarthyite erosion of democratic rights--repeal of the police state Smith and McCarran Acts, abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the outlawing of witch-hunts."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"Republican and Dixiecrat forces, encouraged by added strength in Congress, gave clear indication last week that they plan to block all economic and welfare measures pledged by President-elect Kennedy.

"Kennedy was being pressured from all sides for concessions to the Dixiecrats on the civil rights issue and to name an assortment of businessmen and other conservatives to cabinet posts. As yet, however, he has not had a meeting with AFL-CIO leaders who are reportedly set to insist on full-speed ahead for bills to meet the recession, bills blocked by the Dixie-GOP coalition in the last Congress."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 2.

"Important steps were taken last week-end to streamline the N. Y. State organization of the Communist Party and also strengthen its mass work in a number of fields."

"MAJOR ACTIVITIES"

"... Concentrating immediate attention on the struggle for peace, civil rights, civil liberties and social legislation..."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 12.

2. Anticommunist Legislation

"Our Communist Party, which lives and works inside the eye of that typhoon (U.S. imperialism) which is so menacing to the peace, security and social progress of the peoples of the Americas in particular, and of the world in general, has suffered many blows in recent years.

"Electoral laws and anti-Communist statutes have prevented our Party from entering the elections under its own banner.

"Even now our Party is facing a court ruling on the infamous McCarran Act whose aim is to take away even the limited legality we have secured and to repress all other militant labor and peoples organizations."

James E. Jackson, "To the First Party of the Americas," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 33.

"Our Party would have preferred to have its own candidates for president and vice president this year. That is not possible, only because of a whole series of restrictive laws--laws which violate our nation's Constitution and its Bill of Rights--specifically designed to keep government power in the hands of the capitalist two-party system, and to keep Communists and other minority parties off the ballot. Such anti-democratic laws as the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley, the Landrum-Griffin Act, etc., work to the detriment of all labor, Negro, peace and other progressive organizations, as well as to our detriment. We urge all progressive forces to repeal such restrictive and oppressive laws."

"The 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, September, 1960, p. 25.

"... Repeal the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Walter-McCarran Act."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

3. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"What does labor need in the coming year?"

"It needs to be freed of the shackles of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the 'right-to-work' laws and all other anti-labor legislation."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 5.

"Repressive legislation, notably the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin law, has put the unions under government supervision and control and robbed them of many hard-won rights...."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 9.

"Using the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act as its lever, the United States Steel Corp. has employed sinister new strike-breaking tactics against workers in the National Tube Co.'s Lorain mill. The Landrum-Griffin Act, supposedly a law against racketeering, is clearly going to be used by the big corporations in a new assault upon the American labor movement."

"...A new pattern of strikebreaking is being fashioned which can bring disaster to the ranks of organized labor if the challenge is not quickly met."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 1,  
Midwest Edition.

"...Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, the Kennedy Landrum-Griffin Act and all so-called 'right-to-work' laws. Restore labor's organizing and bargaining power by reenacting the Wagner Act."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

#### 4. Amnesty Appeals

"The United States is notorious for being the home of the frameup of prisoners. For many years this country carried on a continual fight to free innocent victims from death sentence or very long terms in prison. The fact that in every case the prisoners were not guilty did not make it any easier to free them from the clutches of the law. Henry Winston is in jail for no crime at all. He was railroaded to jail by reactionary officials, with the help of stoolpigeons. Even the so-called crime with which he is charged, violation of the Smith Act, is an insult to American justice and should have long since been thrown into the waste basket.

"Undoubtedly, the fact that Henry Winston is a Negro fighter, has served to facilitate his imprisonment, to glut the white chauvinism of his heartless jailers. His case should be made to ring not only throughout America and the Socialist countries, but especially throughout Africa as well. Just freeing themselves from the terrors of white chauvinism, the Africans would not permit this outrage to be perpetuated upon Winston without making the sharpest protest."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 8.

"People who hate cruelty and injustice should protest the cruel treatment of Winston to the Department of Justice, and call upon President Eisenhower to grant Winston executive clemency."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 3.

"HENRY WINSTON, Smith Act victim, who has already spent four and a half years behind bars separated from his wife and two children is totally blind following an operation for a brain tumor."

"The government, which has kept him in jail for so long solely because of his ideas, is also directly responsible for his blindness. He was subjected to prolonged neglect after his first complaint of illness.

"Simple humanity and justice would dictate that Henry Winston be returned to his family without delay. It is hoped that all who feel this way will inform both the Parole Board and the President without delay."

Editorial, The Worker,  
August 14, 1960, p. 3.

5. Rule by Law

"The bourgeois system of law developed in large part out of the struggle against feudalism. In that progressive effort many humanistic elements became part of that theory of law, and mass democratic efforts conducted since the appearance of capitalism also furthered the potency of such elements. But with the maturing of capitalism, it has found increasingly obstructive the forms and ideas and traditions developed in its youth; not least among these obstructive forces--as Engels pointed out some eighty years ago--are the traditions of objectivity and righteousness in the law. Indeed, the whole concept of 'rule by law' becomes more and more distressing to capitalism as it becomes more and more monopolistic and imperialistic. Internally, the ultimate manifestation of this process



is fascism; its domestic program of unbridled reaction made it the enemy of all 'legality' --even the system developed by the young bourgeoisie. And its foreign program of aggression made it contemptuous of international law--made outlaws, in fact, of the fascist powers.

"This abandonment of 'rule by law' is an increasing pattern in the United States, domestically and internationally. This is one of the most dangerous elements in the unprecedented American policy of vindicating 'spying' and justifying actual physical aggression into another's territory...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, July, 1960, p. 55.

6. House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

"...End the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Subversive Activities Committee."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

"...the time has come for democracy minded Americans to reclaim our national traditions and challenge the self-appointed arbiters of 'Americanism' --the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Eastlands, and the cold-warriors who seek to destroy the essence of the First Amendment under a guise of spurious patriotism."

The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 9.

"The Eastland-Dodd internal security subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee 'seeks to smash all struggle for peace,'..."

"Instead of defending the Negro people against the 'violence and terrorism' of the white supremacists, the subcommittee attacks the peace movement, endangering 'the peace of the world,' and the 'lives of all people, including all Americans.' "

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 3.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The United States Government should enter into an agreement with other nuclear powers to end nuclear tests, ban nuclear weapons, and destroy all nuclear stockpiles.
2. The Soviet Union has striven persistently for total disarmament, while the United States has been the chief stumbling block against its realization.
3. Universal disarmament would result in an enormous saving to American taxpayers.
4. The United States Government should ground all spy planes and dismantle its military bases abroad.
5. The United States Government should refrain from arming West Germany with nuclear weapons and prevent its re-Nazification.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Use of Nuclear Weapons Opposed

"...Nothing is more consequential than the cause of peace, and for the enhancement of that cause nothing is more important...than that a real program of general and complete disarmament get under way. In that connection, immediate priority must be given to the stopping of nuclear-weapons testing forever, and to the banning of the continued manufacture of such weapons, and the destruction of the existing enormous stockpiles of those instruments of catastrophe."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 35.

"Raise the demand:"

"...That our government enter an agreement with other nuclear powers to end all nuclear tests, ban all nuclear weapons and destroy all existing nuclear stockpiles--and that nuclear energy be used exclusively for peaceful purposes."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"...the permanent banning of the bomb tests and the defeat of threats to renew underground tests remain the most important concrete immediate issues around which big movements already exist and actions on an even wider scale can be set in motion\*...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 12.

## 2. Disarmament

"The central issue in the struggle for peace remains disarmament. The monopolists obviously will not accept disarmament voluntarily. The struggle for disarmament is, however, an integral part of the struggle to end the cold war, for peaceful coexistence. The cold war is not an alternative to war. It is accompanied by increased armaments of the most destructive character and the struggle to end it is unthinkable without the struggle for disarmament. The dogmatists who say that disarmament is impossible are actually repeating what the most die-hard imperialists say. If this were true, then ultimately a third world war could not be avoided. But it is also clear that only the people will impose disarmament on the imperialists. Any step they will be compelled to take will be as 'voluntary' as their granting of freedom to the colonies.

"That is why we must undertake a long-range, systematic and persistent campaign on all levels and through every medium possible to fight for disarmament...."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs, November, 1960, pp. 11-12.

\* Underlined portion italicized in original.

"...study leads to the conclusion...that the United States Government, since 1945, has resisted all efforts and proposals looking towards effective disarmament and has been opposed especially to limiting or prohibiting the production of nuclear weapons. Study also demonstrates that the leadership in disarmament efforts and proposals since World War II belongs--as it did during the period between the two World Wars--to the USSR. Such study also shows that the Soviet Union has led in our era--as she did in the 1920's and 1930's--in urging general and complete disarmament.

"...True it is that the opposition to disarmament mirrors a deeper policy of imperialist expansion, hostility to national liberation movements, and fierce antagonism to Socialism...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 35.

"The history of the struggle for disarmament since the end of World War II makes clear...that the Soviet Union has striven persistently for the adoption of a program of significant disarmament, and that the U. S. Government has been the chief stumbling block against its realization. The fact is that both in words and more decisively in action, the U. S. Government has thwarted disarmament and has made impossible the elimination of nuclear weapons; it has been, in fact, the main source for the backbreaking armaments race that has plagued the world in the present epoch and which threatens momentarily the destruction of most of mankind."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 15.

### 3. Armament Costs

"Raise the demand:

"...That our government support a policy of universal disarmament, and thus forestall a nuclear catastrophe, and relieve the peoples of the crushing burden of armaments taxes."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

"The peace of the world, as well as our own national interests, urgently demand that the government order the Pentagon brass to take our atomic shotguns out of the windows of the Soviet Union and China, and to put an end to the maintenance of the ring of 300 military bases on the territories of their neighbors."

"To force a retreat from these outposts for war is vital to relieving world tensions and creating the atmosphere for securing peaceful relations and real progress toward universal total disarmament. Besides, the savings to our taxpayers would be enormous if we liquidate these dangerous vanity outposts which atomic rockets have already rendered militarily worthless."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 3, 1960, p. 3.

#### 4. Ground Spy Planes and Dismantle United States Military Bases Abroad

"U. S. imperialism has now some 250 overseas war bases in seventy lands. These bases are tied together and enmeshed in numerous military alliances, many of them with various reactionary puppet governments. This was part of the master plan of U. S. world domination and enslavement launched after World War II. The contradiction between this grandiose scheme and the hard realities of the present-day relationships of world forces is beginning to show up more and more acutely."

"Developments in South Korea and Turkey give indications that the network of bases is not very effective even as a political deterrent. In fact, because of the rise of the movement for peace, democracy, and independence, these bases and alliances are turning into their very opposite--into points of weakness instead of strength. They are becoming obsolete military outposts which are significant mainly as symbols of U. S. imperialism. The demand for dismantling and scrapping these nests of war has become a cry of the forces of peace throughout the world."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 20.

"...let the people deluge the White House with the demand that President Eisenhower as commander-in-chief order at once

"that all military planes on the perimeter of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries be grounded!

"that immediate steps be taken to dismantle U. S. military bases in the territories of other countries!

"Halt the war-plane provocations against the Soviet Union and China!

"Ground the spy planes and the strategic bombers all over the world!"

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 3.

"Raise the demand:"

"...That our government enter an agreement with all other nations for withdrawing all foreign military bases, from which aggressive U-2 spy flights are made and which are used to violate the sover\_ignty and independence of other nations."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.

5. No Nuclear Weapons to West Germany

"...Prevent the re-Nazification of Germany; no nuclear weapons to Adenauer's army."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

"Raise the demand:"

"... That our government refrain from arming Adenauer Germany with nuclear weapons, that it demand the full denazification of Western Germany, that it prevent Western Germany from once more igniting the flames of world war to be quenched by the blood of American and other youth."

The Worker,  
September 18, 1960, p. 1.



## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. Only a Presidential proclamation outlawing all forms of discrimination can smash the "jim-crow system" in the United States.
2. All minority groups including the Negro people, the Puerto Rican Americans and the Mexican Americans should be allowed full and unrestricted voting rights.
3. Anticommunist attacks weaken the fight for Negro rights in America.
4. The arrest of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the resumption of the student "sit-ins" in the South are classic examples of extraparliamentary intervention in the elections which helped shape the course of the 1960 presidential campaign.
5. A struggle against anti-Semitism should be directed not only against its economic and social roots, but also against its ideological forms and traditions.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Presidential Proclamation Needed To End Discrimination

"This is...the time to demand that the next President must issue a Presidential proclamation to end all discrimination to establish equality now for the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people and all oppressed, an end to all forms of second-class citizenship now! Such a proclamation can cut through the political buck-passing of Congress and can be enforced."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 3.

"CP Negro Leaders Urge..."

"...That President Eisenhower issue a proclamation ending all Jim-Crow, segregation, and discrimination in the U.S. as being in violation of the U.S. Constitution."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, p. 12.

"...The failure to smash the jim-crow system, particularly in the deep South, threatens and victimizes the whole nation. Nothing less than a second Emancipation Proclamation promulgated by the incoming President instantaneously outlawing all jim-crow and nullifying every law and practice of jim-crow, segregation and discrimination, can meet this danger...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, p. 8.

2. Minority Groups Should Be Allowed Full Voting Rights

"...many millions of other American citizens, the Negro people in the South, the Puerto Rican Americans in New York and other eastern States, and the Mexican Americans of the southwest will not be allowed to register and thereby exercise the right to vote. They are barred by force and violence, including murder, or chauvinist language qualifications."

"President Eisenhower recently sanctimoniously repeated his proposal for a vote by the people of the world on the question of 'democracy'

versus communism. This was obviously a cynical hypocritical attempt to hide the truth on the situation in our own country, where millions this year are denied even the right to vote for a town councilman or a county sheriff, much less on the basic question of what economic system they prefer."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 3.

"DELEGATES to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, including the representatives of the newly independent African states, will read a great deal about our election campaign.

"Much of what we do will no doubt seem strange to them....

"But most of all, they will no doubt be shocked to learn that millions of our Negro citizens in the South are not allowed to vote, almost 100 years after the Civil War, and despite the guarantees of equality contained in the amendments to the Constitution which were enacted after the abolition of slavery."

"There should be an outcry and protest and a demand that the federal government not just go through the motions, but prosecute those guilty and guarantee that all Negro citizens desiring to vote will be able to vote in this year's election. If there is a will to do this the government has ample power to enforce this, both under the Constitution and the recently enacted civil rights legislation."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 25, 1960, p. 3.

### 3. Anticommunist Attacks Weaken Fight for Negro Rights

"...labor... must come forward in full, militant support of the heroic fight of the Negro people for equal rights... And it must combat and repudiate anti-Communism as a deadly weapon of big-business reaction against... the democratic rights of all Americans."

The Worker,  
September 4, 1960, p. 4.

"The eighteen million Negro Americans have a proud history of struggle. They are a militant and a well-organized people, and are putting up a brilliant fight for equal rights as citizens of the United States. In broad terms, there is an identification of their struggles with the anticolonial explosions in all corners of the world.

"However, here again, this level of understanding and militancy does not extend into the fields of peace, world affairs, and the aggressive role of U.S. imperialism. Hence, very often militant speeches for equal rights are weakened by expressions of support for policies of the U.S. State Department and the use of the big lie--anti-Communism."

Gus Hall, "The Summit and After," Political Affairs,  
August, 1960, pp. 21-22.

### 4. "Sit-in" Movement

"THE OUTRAGEOUS sentencing of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., requires the protest of all decent Americans.

"...Demand that the persecution of the sit-inners be halted. Demand that the federal government protect those who exercise

their Constitutional 'right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'

"In attacking Dr. King the white supremacists hope to behead and disrupt the sit-in movement for equal rights and the welling movement for the right to vote.

"The cause for which Dr. King speaks is the cause, not of the Negro people alone, but of all democratic America.

"Let, then, labor speak out. Let all organizations of the people speak out. Let all right-minded Americans speak out."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 30, 1960, p. 1.

"...The dramatic personal intervention of Kennedy to secure the release of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.,...coupled with Kennedy's unequivocal statements of support for the student sit-ins--just about clinched and consolidated Negro support..."

"Kennedy's public initiative against the brutal jailing of Rev. King, made in defiance of Dixiecrat pressure, has received the bulk of the orchids, although the test of whether he will pursue a consistent policy of politically outlawing the Dixiecrats and of smashing the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition is still to come.

"The real hero of that incident is Reverend King and the Negro people's movement he represents...The arrest of King and 75 other young Negroes in Atlanta, the resumption of the student sit-ins in New Orleans and Jacksonville--are classic examples of mass extraparliamentary intervention in the elections which helped to shape the course of the campaign..."

"Notes of the Month,"  
Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, pp. 5, 6.

5. Anti-Semitism

"...a struggle against anti-Semitism, as against all chauvinism and racism, must be directed not only against its economic and social roots, but against its ideological forms and traditions, which seem to be purely 'of the mind,' or 'custom,' or 'psychology.'..."

Preface by the Editors to "The Jew Among the Thorns" by Arnold Zweig, Mainstream, September, 1960, p. 1.

## **IX. EDUCATION**

1. The broadest united action is needed to attain school desegregation both in the North and in the South.
2. American education is owned by Big Business and geared to the production of a standardized corporation man.
3. All community and labor organizations should protest the action of the Board of Education in New York which threatened to invoke the "anti-labor strikebreaking" Condon-Wadlin law.
4. The recently opened Friendship University in the Soviet Union is a Soviet foreign aid project, and its students are "beneficiaries of the government's policies of peaceful coexistence and aid to under-developed countries."
5. The New York School for Marxist Studies has demonstrated that there is a wide interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

### **SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS**

#### **1. School Desegregation**

"A CLEAN BREAKTHROUGH on school desegregation in New Orleans or a retreat endangering the present meager steps, that is the issue in the Louisiana crisis.

"The five hard core states in the Deep South with their strong Black Belts areas are determined to prevent any integration whatsoever."

"Two things are at a minimum required on the part of democratic forces. First, that President Eisenhower speak out and act on the issue.

"Another issue which must be increasingly raised is the placement acts which permit token integration. These acts should be declared unconstitutional."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 3.

"The Dixiecrats' resistance to integration in Louisiana dramatizes the need for the broadest united action to enforce the Supreme Court decision and to end racial discrimination immediately."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 5.

"...More and fully desegregated schools--North and South..."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 7.

## 2. American Education Owned by Big Business

"A HUNDRED faults will undoubtedly be found and corrected in American education. But the main fault... will never be examined, the fatal fact that our education is owned by, and geared to, the business system...."

"Many colleges have already become training barracks for the production of a standardized corporation man. This tendency will be intensified, until the final day of doom when the monopolies have merged into one giant monopoly that owns the nation and its culture."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 6.



3. Condon-Wadlin Law

"The Board of Education is committing an outrageous, undemocratic affront to the people of New York by threatening to invoke the Condon-Wadlin law against the city's teachers...."

"The anti-labor strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin law has been like a noose hanging over the heads of all city employes, including teachers, who are faced with low pay and bad working conditions and are denied the democratic right to act to improve their conditions."

"All community and labor organizations should demand that Mayor Wagner and the Board of Education withdraw the Condon-Wadlin threats and reaffirm the collective bargaining rights of all city employes, including the right to strike."

"All community and labor organizations should support the teachers in their efforts to obtain their rights."

The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 12.

4. Soviet's "Friendship University"

"Friendship University Opens--A Soviet Foreign Aid Project"

"ALTHOUGH this university is not a government institution--being sponsored and subsidized by Soviet social organizations such as peace committees and friendship societies--the students are beneficiaries of the government's policies of peaceful coexistence and aid to underdeveloped countries...."

"In point of fact, Friendship University may be considered a projection on a world scale of policies and method with which the USSR in four decades eliminated backwardness and created an intelligentsia and skilled working class among each of the 196 nationalities and nations formerly exploited by the British and benighted Russian bourgeoisie and landowners."

"...But today, Friendship University is already getting applications for admission during the 1961 school year."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, pp. 6, 9.

#### 5. New York School for Marxist Studies

"The first sessions of the N. Y. School for Marxist Studies were held this past week. On Oct. 14 the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE), the Youth section of the School, met at its first classes, and on Oct. 17, the general studies section of the School began its work. In both, the attendance was good, demonstrating that there is a wide and growing interest in Marxist theory and in how Marxists view the world today.

"Of particular interest were several new courses, especially those dealing with Africa. today, taught by William L. Patterson, and with the Cuban Revolution, taught by Jesus Colon, and with the Civil War in the United States: A Centennial Survey.

"A new departure in the School was the instituting of several seminar classes, in economics, political theory and aesthetics."

The Worker,  
October 23, 1960, p. 12.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Art for art's sake is considered impractical in America; here, art is produced primarily for profit.
2. Socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union produces great artists, scientists, educators, and healers.
3. Cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union should be expanded.
4. The Soviet "mass approach" toward training athletes will overtake the individualistic approach practiced in capitalist countries.
5. Religious bigotry is one of the principal weapons of capitalism for dividing the working class and the "popular masses."

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Art under Capitalism Is Subservient to Big Business

"...the 'freedom of the arts' in our country is suffering from a blighting disease. It is full of unsolved contradictions, which are part of the very way of operation of 'free' or marketplace society, and reach a crisis when the 'market-place' represents an immense concentration of money and power, with control over the very arteries through which art works flow. It is the freedom to abandon theory and so fumble in the dark; the freedom to advance any thought or notion without the disturbance of having it tested against real life, or of such questions as to whether there is any truth there, or any illumination thrown on life; the freedom to control for one's private interest and gain the immense institutions which provide the main artistic experiences of society, and to pour anything through these channels that will sell and show a profit. There is also the freedom to say what one wants, provided one foregoes the need to make a living out of art, and foregoes the excitement and growth which comes out of a two-way reaction with the public, the people of the nation. It is plain that while Marxists have to cope with and solve the question of artistic freedom, they cannot accept this way of operation as a fundamental solution."

Sidney Finkelstein, "The Critics Have Problems," Mainstream, September, 1960, pp. 39-40.

"As American business merges itself more rapidly into the monopoly stage of capitalism, the cultural things will be more and more pressured to assume the pattern of the owners.

"Many colleges have already become training barracks for the production of a standardized corporation man. This tendency will be intensified, until the final day of doom when the monopolies have merged into one giant monopoly that owns the nation and its culture.

"Advertising then will become our most treasured form of literature with some Madison Avenue bard of Ex-Lax taking the throne once occupied by the impractical Shakespeare. Commercial art will be deemed superior to the profitless work of a Van Gogh or Cezanne, art that never sold a cornflake or cigarette...."

The Worker,  
December 11, 1960, p. 6.

## 2. Soviet Culture Produces Great Artists and Scientists

"...HUMANITY--whatever its color, creed or politics-- must wish the USSR happy birthday...."

"Nobody can ignore the...fact that it produces a culture giving rise to artists like Svyatoslav Richter, the pianist, whom every critic in New York praised to the skies, without any eye to political difference.

"As observers of the USSR know, Richter is but one of a whole class of great artists, great scientists, great educators, great healers.

"These attest to the presence of a new power on earth, one that unlocks the might of humanity, the genius present in the overwhelming majority of mankind, which only a society can encourage, that is freed of capitalism, freed of the philosophy of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

"These are some of the things mankind will celebrate this November 7th. These are the things that make socialism inevitable."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 6, 1960, p. 3.

3. Cultural Exchange Between Socialist and Capitalist Nations

"...in connection with the fight for peace, most thinking people understand that our people and the people of the Soviet Union must live in peace and friendship if world peace is to be preserved. Normal trade and cultural relations have to be established and expanded. Much progress has been achieved in the cultural exchange involving the arts, the sciences, the professions and lately some trade union delegations, consisting of both rank and file and some leaders, among them Joseph Curran. Hardly a day passes but that some outstanding figure is astounded by the great achievements of the Soviet people. The National Council for Soviet-American Friendship which is reaching many Americans and promoting knowledge about the Soviet Union, and which is working for exchange and promotion of friendship, should receive the support of all who wish this work to continue and expand."

Jack Stachel, "The UN Assembly and the Fight for Peace," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 14.

"...Insist upon policies of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition among all nations, with the extension of trade and cultural relations."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, p. 6.

4. Superiority of Soviet "Mass Approach" Athletic System

"AS TO...Soviet and American athletes...Coming to the fore is recognition that the Soviet do not put their emphasis on 'kings of the stadium.' They train a nation of athletes, en masse, from whom come the top medal winners. Their emphasis is on team-work, on a collective approach to the

matters, as in all things else. They shy away from delimiting this sport or that sport as the major sport, insist that all forms of physical training have their valid place. They do not glorify this star or that star above all others. The American way, on the other hand, it is said here, woo the individual star, seek him out while he is still in high school, court him throughout college, and accentuate the individual, as well as individual sports, relegating most forms to a secondary spot.

"Unfortunately, baseball, and our brand of football, are not universal sports, are not reckoned in the Olympics. But even there the same generalizations above would hold, in the long run. After a time, the system of mass approach, of creating a nation of athletes, would overtake and surpass the individualistic approach...."

The Worker,  
October 2, 1960, pp. 5, 9.

#### 5. Religion a Weapon of Capitalism

"...the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the deep South for human dignity and equality has strengthened and extended the grass-roots frontiers of democracy in the country, and redounded to the benefit of all victims of discrimination--whether Jew or Catholic, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican-American or other minority groups. But this battle is far from won in the United States, not only from the point of view of religious tolerance, but also from the point of view of the right of a citizen to have no religion at all, without which there can be no freedom of religion as guaranteed in the federal Constitution. Religious bigotry is still one of the principal weapons of capitalism for dividing the working class and popular masses...."

"Notes of the Month," Political Affairs,  
December, 1960, p. 4.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women have made tremendous progress under socialism and have been freed from the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism.
2. Women's rights should be protected through appropriate legislation for nursery schools, medical and financial care during illness, and the provision of decent homes on a mass scale suited to modest incomes.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Women under Socialism

"Forty-three years ago the women were 'slaves of a stove.' Drudgery and misery was their lot. Nowhere in the whole wide world have women made such progress as in the U.S.S.R. Long ago in its Far Eastern Republics, on International Woman's Day, they tore the age-old veils from their faces and buried them in front of the statue of Lenin. Today they are free and equal. They run factories, hospitals, schools, are judges and lawmakers. More and more in the new housing centers, the burdens of domestic tasks are being socialized. The women work, study, bring up beautiful children. Special care of mothers, guarantee of their jobs, care of the aged, medical care and vacations for all, remove the insecurity that oppresses women under capitalism."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs, November, 1960, p. 2.

"...if the general educational progress is spectacular, the development of an intelligentsia among the formerly trebly oppressed women stands as a challenge not only to other lands still backward in these respects, but to many countries of the industrialized 'West.'..."

The Worker,  
December 4, 1960, p. 4.

2. Legislation Needed To Protect Women's Rights

"We need to insure the protection of mother's rights through appropriate legislation for clinics, creches, kindergartens, nursery schools, etc. To release women from the financial burden of illness, we need medical and financial care (with full pay) during the pre-natal (two months) and post-natal (two months) periods. Through effective social legislation we must gain family allowances for each child and free medical care and drugs; build decent homes on a mass scale suited to modest incomes, and provide large housing schemes for social and cultural services to fulfill the desires of the woman and the family."

The Worker,  
July 10, 1960, p. 9.



## XII. YOUTH

1. The Communist Party in the United States proposes the adoption of a Federal Youth Act which would provide free education, the guarantee of a job after education is completed, and a federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational, and cultural program for youth.
2. Communist youth have special contributions to make to noncommunist youth, including propaganda for socialism, which is the only real solution for youth's problems.
3. Under the Soviet system, children will grow up to develop their full capabilities.
4. All progressive adults and youths must do everything possible to increase the ranks of communist and organized youth.
5. A labor-youth alliance is an important factor in building the "anti-monopoly people's coalition."
6. Today child labor in agriculture is on the increase, and every attempt to alleviate this situation has been defeated by the farm lobby.
7. The student demonstration against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco was a "humanist" battle for free speech and democracy and perhaps a prelude to political action.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Communist Youth Program

##### "PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

"...With the ending of the school term, tens of thousands of young people are thrown on the labor market with no hope of jobs. We propose to:

"Adopt a Federal Youth Act that guarantees the right of every child to a full and free education in his chosen field or profession, with free tuition and a stipend where needed.

"... Guarantee a job to every youth when he leaves school or college.

"...End military conscription.

"...A federally sponsored and financed sports, recreational and cultural program for youth."

The Worker,  
October 16, 1960, pp. 6-7.

## 2. Special Contributions of Communist Youth

"...Communist youth especially and other Left youth have special contributions to make based on their class and world outlook. These include: (1) the possibility and need for the widest unity; (2) the need for struggle within that unity for an orientation toward labor and basic sections of youth, for a policy of consistent mass struggle, for political action and against divisive tendencies; (3) showing who are the enemies and who are the friends of youth's needs; (4) more radical immediate solutions when the situation requires; (5) propaganda and agitation for socialism which offers the only lasting full solution for youth's problems."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, pp. 32-33.

## 3. Youth under Socialism

"Never in the history of humanity has so much attention been given to the care of children, as here under Socialism. Nurseries and boarding schools, child-care centers, recreation places for older children, summer camps, give all children a happy life in the Soviet Union. These citizens of the future, who will live in a Communist society, are growing up in an atmosphere of loving kindness. All their capacities and capabilities will be unfolded; selfishness, envy, greed, will be foreign to them. They will be a new type of human being."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Salute to the  
U.S.S.R.," Political Affairs,  
November, 1960, p. 2.

"Children, don't give up the ship. You are confused because your teachers failed to teach you the central fact of our time...."

"This central truth of our time is the undeniable fact that the world is passing from the system of capitalism into the system of socialism. All the moral decay you see and loathe isn't metaphysical or eternal, but has a realistic base. It reflects the decay of capitalist society. Children, learn to distinguish between what is dying and what is being born... Our country has a wonderful future, humane, noble and beautiful...."

The Worker,  
November 13, 1960, p. 6.

4. Act To Increase Number of Progressive Youth.

"All progressive adults and youth must make it their responsibility to act boldly to increase rapidly the number of Communist and organized progressive youth. It is possible to do that today. Every adult must think over all the youth he or she knows and put them in contact with the organized youth. Where that is not possible, adults should aid in formation of new study groups, classes, action groups, etc. Financial and all other kinds of support by adults is needed for the many progressive youth activities now in existence. This is a crucial matter for the future of our movement and of our country."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 33.

5. Labor-Youth Alliance

"...mass movements of youth for their needs are already an important factor in the developing anti-monopoly people's coalition and can become even more important. More and more youth are becoming aware that it is Woolworth's monopoly in the sit-in field and other big monopolies in the jobs and peace fields that are the obstacles. The support of union locals for the Youth Marches and sit-in picketing and the few examples of union concern for job training and education begin to teach youth that labor can be their best ally. More activity by unions and special youth forms of organization like sons and daughters clubs, apprentice clubs, are needed to strengthen the labor-youth alliance and positively influence the direction of youth's rebellion. While building strong alliances, youth must also have their own independent organizations if they are to develop most rapidly as a part of the anti-monopoly coalition."

Dan Ross, "American Youth on the Move,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1960, p. 32.

6. Child Labor in Agriculture

"Through their absolute control and manipulation of the half million imported contract migrants...the big canners' associations, processors, food chains and corporate farms which dominate American agriculture, have been able to reduce both these foreign workers and the estimated 400,000 to 800,000 domestic migrants to a factually colonial status."

"PERHAPS the most chilling evidence of this status are two facts relating to the estimated 350,000 to 500,000 children involved in the migrants' plight. One is that, contrary to all American traditions, their educational achievement is rated as lower than that of their parents. The other, that today, in America's modern, highly mechanized industrialized agriculture, child labor is on the increase, with the farm lobby so far beating down every effort to eliminate the exemption excluding children in agriculture from the protection of the child labor laws, using precisely the same arguments advanced by the exploiters of child labor in industry in the last century, in today's terms of its saving children from juvenile delinquency, and the joys of family togetherness in the bean field."

The Worker,  
November 27, 1960, p. 6.

7. Student Demonstration against House Committee on Un-American Activities

"...the great faith the youth of the world share is the belief that nuclear war is the chief enemy of their hopes and dreams. Abroad, they have political parties through which they have organized their protest. In the United States, however, peace is a nonpolitical movement. Humanism is its only party. The students of San Francisco...have passed through three stages--first and uppermost has been the fight for disarmament and peace. Then came the fight for the abolition of capital punishment. The demonstration against the Un-American Committee was a humanist battle for free speech and democracy, but perhaps a prelude to political action."

The Worker,  
July 17, 1960, p. 6.